4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km.	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
North Zone:				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajalon	145	6,026	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
Central Zone:				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
South Zone:				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinola	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15,004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

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TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	323	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

Although it
161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.,
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
[63] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196 - B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

621 632 other municipalities (Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango, San Martin, Sivaca, Guaquitepec, and Bachajon). Petalcingo belongs to the municipality of Tila, where Chol is spoken. The reason for these heterogeneous municipalities is that, within the political constitution of the state, only communities containing a sufficient number of inhabitants may achieve the status of municipality; the rest are considered merely as agencies of the municipality to which they have been assigned.

18 177 191 361 Another cultural variation stems from its ecological location. Communities of the southern zone, which have good lands, roads, mechanized transportation, and therefore greater contacts with the outside world, occupy a more advanced place in the process of acculturation, which is revealed by the scant number of monolingual Indian residents and by their better economic condition. Communities of the central zone, of irregular landscape and high demographic pressure, isolated, and without economic opportunities, are the poorest, most conservative, and most untrusting of the entire region. The northern zone has a high index of Indianness because of the number of those who do not know Spanish, but their economic condition is better than that of the central zone, because there is more opportunity to cultivate coffee and work on the plantations.

Historical Antecedents

175 179 648 I shall mention only the periods of greatest social significance in the past four centuries. The dates are approximate.

The period of the conquest, from 1524 to 1545, saw the most violent encounters and occasional skirmishes between Indians and Spaniards. The fortress of Chamula was taken by Captain Luis Marín in 1524, and four years later Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal de las Casas), destined to be the politico-religious center of the region, was founded.

The period of catechization and consoli-

[P. 197-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town secretary, a 15-year old boy.

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After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

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From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

124 126 other party than when he did not; the proportion of the total number of words which was spoken by the other party was greater when that person was older than the informant than when he was the same age, and younger persons spoke, relatively, even less. The frequent use of various terms of respect and ritual kinship between the informant and the other speaker also suggests that their other behavior in the recording situation takes these relationships into account.

12 [191] Our bilingual informant, Mariano Juarez, was trained in the field by N. A. McQuown in the phonemic transcription of Tzeltal. When he had completed the transcription of the tapes, I instructed him to produce a translation in which the translation equivalents were to be forced into the Tzeltal frame of reference insofar as possible, using the vernacular Spanish as he knew it. The examples of text which appear herein should be understood to be Mr. Juarez' work. The fact that a native speaker of Tzeltal, who knew the general and idiosyncratic contexts in which the Tzeltal material appeared, did the translating guarantees as accurate a translation as possible. The always knotty problem of English glosses involves not only the depth of my understanding of the vernacular Spanish and its relation to the Tzeltal, but also the more general point, made recently by Conklin (1963), that the structure of English domains stands in no necessary relationship to the structure of domains of any other language. Frake (1961),

aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What resale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

275 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name
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191 was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 In 1939, there occurred a set of circumstances which per-
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191 mitted the Aguacatenanguercs to gain control of the elements of
198 the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos.
[432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request
[171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it
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432 from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver
439 it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *huʔeletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzoʔontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly.

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election.

The household head enters religious office first as *nič'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal*, or assistant, next as *tatil*, or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria*, or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 9

The Competition for Power

829 178 177 Changes in the organization of the civil and religious hierarchies since the constitution of 1927 can be traced in a series of events remembered by members of the community. Their selection of significant events and the interpretation they make of them give the best clues to their response to change. In the remembrance of things past people structure their world and project expectations for the future. Behavior in these events lacks the controls operating in the formal rituals of the officials—age-graded authority, hierarchy, and a code of behavior which conceals the open show of power. The strategies employed in these organizational changes reveal other rules or transformation of the old rules characterizing social interaction.

554 621 794 578 177 178 The structure of roles in the civil and religious hierarchies has remained intact. What has changed are the bases for according prestige and authority and allocating roles. The pivotal positions in which change is occurring are the mediating roles between local and national power structures, specifically those of president and secretary in the civil authority and of fiscal and priest in the religious authority.

[212] [191] [756] The contest for power and "control of the town" has centered in five blocks of competition: (1) the opposition of new young leaders with skills in speaking Spanish, literacy, and knowledge of the idiom of behavior in the national culture to the established succession of an age-dominated authority system; (2) the challenge by the civil authority to the control of the curers who rely on power derived from possession of an animal spirit; (3) the struggle for political power among factions based on new economic enterprises; (4) the contest among local caciques for domination; and (5) the conflict among religious functionaries. The series of events in which these contests have crystallized and brought about a reorganization

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed.

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office.

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation.

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927.

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died.

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?" We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldios* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal,* or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

hundred and fifty pesos for a dress. The padre said I couldn't buy it there. He told me to send for one in Mexico that cost five hundred and fifty pesos. He wanted to make the profit.

The fiscal. As an intermediary between the traditional religious officials and the priest, the fiscal is the target for both sides of the religious controversy. The priest selects the fiscal, but his retention of the post depends on his being accepted by the mayordomos. The tendency in the past fifteen years since a regular priest has been assigned to the community is to choose a man who speaks Spanish and can read and write, but who can be dominated by the priest. The following statement by a man who served in this post in 1929 defines the functions of the fiscal as the Indians see them:

> *When I served as fiscal, I knew how to sell* [*the Indians use the verb* to sell *in reference to any propaganda—whether commercial, political, or religious*] *the catechism. After the prayer, I cleaned the patio. I held the key to the church. I saw* [*in the sense of watch over*] *all the mayordomos. I bought the candles and incense for the saints. At midday the mayordomos and I left the church and went home. There was no padre living here then, and the padre from San Cristóbal came only on the days of San Francisco, Virgin Santa Lucía, San Pedro the Martyr, and Santiago. Each Sunday, the ten mayordomos and I entered the church and prayed in the true language.*

Prayers are now given in Spanish by the fiscal and the prayer-reciters under the guidance of the lay sisters, who remain most of the time in the convento. The fiscal, as a consequence, is no longer selected on the basis of his ability to recite the pat'o'tan. Since one of the main tasks of the fiscal is to take care of the church, several recent incumbents have been jeered as being like women, cleaning house and responding to the bidding of the priests. Some have suggested that one was a homosexual. They blame the fiscales for letting control over the domain of the church fall into the hands of the priest.

A man who had filled the post himself, described the careers of several former fiscales:

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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11:30 The mayordomos ring the bells again. A man says it is twelve o'clock.

12:00 They go home, leaving the door open and the church empty.

B. Observation in the School

Morning

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The schoolrooms are exceedingly crowded with three hundred and fifty children in four rooms and an open porch. The babble of the children's voices reciting their lessons drowns out the voice of the teacher, who has to shout to draw their attention to a new lesson.

All the teaching is done in Spanish. On one occasion, when no one in the class understood what was said, the teacher asked a little boy to translate for her. When she talks, usually about only half or three-quarters of the class pays attention. When the children are singing, all but two or three students participate. [191]

In taking roll, the teacher calls the boys' names first. This order is reversed when the children leave the classroom, with the girls going first. Seating order on the long benches set before tables is not segregated by sex, although there is some clustering.

In teaching the children to read, the teacher writes the vowels on the blackboard in alphabetical order. The children are asked to repeat them after her. She does this seven or eight times. She has a number of the children come up and use the pointer to indicate certain vowels while the rest of the children repeat their names. She leads them in singing the song she has taught them before about the vowels. She mixes up the order of the vowels, pointing to them and asking the children to name them. She asks how many there are and writes a number under each vowel. She drills the class in the names of the vowels and the corresponding numbers for about five minutes more. Using sticks (the majority of the children have five sticks which they carry in their bags, and those who don't use their fingers) she leads them in practicing their numbers up to ten. She asks for volunteers to count from one to ten. When a child falters, she repeats the numbers with him.

The teacher uses a doll to teach the children parts of the body, giving the name in Spanish first, and afterward asking, "What do you call this?" She takes the doll to small groups of children sitting at their desks and lets them handle it. They show much interest, crowding around the doll. She then shows

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

•191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

175 621 166 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175 161 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?"

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out.

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below.

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomàetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre-

[P 213-B]